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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 ADP-00 EURE-00 CIAE-00 PM-07 INR-10 L-03

NEA-10 NSAE-00 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 USIA-15 TRSE-00

MBFR-03 SAJ-01 ACDA-19 IO-13 H-03 NSC-10 SS-15 AEC-11

OMB-01 RSR-01 OIC-04 CU-04 /161 W

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P 201820Z AUG 73

FM USMISSION NATO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1222

SECDEF PRIORITY

S E C R E T USNATO 3898

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PARM

SUBJ: MBFR: FRG'S PROPOSED STRATEGY FOR NEGOTIATIONS

REF: USNATO 3874

1. FRG DELEGATION HAS JUST CIRCULATED FULL TEXT (SEE BELOW) OF FRG REP'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUGUST 16 SPC MEETING ON THE ALLIES' OPENING APPROACH TO MBFR NEGOTIATIONS. FRG SHARES VIEW CONTAINED IN BRITISH DRAFT STEERING BRIEF THAT BEFORE TABLING WESTERN NEGOTIATING PROOOSAL, ALLIES SHOULD RESOLVE QUESTIONS OF AGENDA AND ORGANIZATION WHICH WERE LEFT OPEN DURING VIENNA PRELIMINARY TALKS. WE UNDERSTAND FROM THE I.S. THAT THESE FRG VIEWS WILL BE INCORPORATED UNDER THE "NEGOATING STRATEGY" SECTION AND NOT THE "ALLIED POSITION" SECTION OF THE INITIAL DRAFT WHICH THE I.S. IS CURRENTLY PREPARING. (USNATO 3880).

2. FULL TEXT OF FRG "SPEAKING NOTES" FOLLOWS:

BEGIN TEXT:

1. WE SHARE THE VIEW EXPRESSED IN THE BRITISH DRAFT OF A STEERING BRIEF THAT IT WILL PROBABLY BE ADVISABLE DURING AN
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INTIIAL PERIOD OF THE NEGOTIATIONS NOT TO INTRODUCE IMMEDIATELY A WESTERN NEGOTIATING PROPOSAL INTO THE DISCUSSION. FIRST OF ALL, QUESTIONS SHOULD BE CLARIFIED WHICH HAVE REMAINED OPEN DURING THE VIENNA PRELIMINARY TALKS AND WHICH ARE OF IMPORTANCE

FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. THIS PHASE COULD BE TERMINATED
BY THE DISCUSSION OF THE PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS.

2. THE FOLLOWING SUBJECTS COULD BE CONSIDERED FOR DISCUSSION
DURING THE INITIAL PERIOD:

(A) ORGANIZATION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS;

-RHYTHM OF MEETINGS,

-PLENARY MEETINGS,

-WORKING GROUP

-THE ROLE OF THE EMISSARIES;

(B) DISCUSSION OF ELEMENTS OF THE VIENNA FINAL COMMUNIQUE;

-AGENDA,

-GENERAL OBJECTIVES AND GROUND RULES OF MBFR,

-AGREEMENT ON THE MOST EFFECTIVE AND MOST DETAILED
APPROACH TO THE DISCUSSION OF THE SUBJECT OF THE
NEGOTIATIONS (PHASED APPROACH),

-ASSOCIATED MEASURES;

(D) CONCEPT OF THE COMMON CEILING;

(D) PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS.

3. THE NEGOTIATIONS IN VIENNA SHOULD BEGIN BY REACHING
AGREEMENT ON THEIR ORGANIZATION; THIS AGREEMENT SHOULD,
IF POSSIBLE, BE INFORMAL. IT SHOULD, INTER ALIA, INCLUDE
A CONFIRMATION BY THE EASTERN SIDE THAT EACH SIDE HAS
THE RIGHT TO CALL FOR PLENARY MEETINGS IN ADDITION
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TO THE INITIALLY-AGREED RHYTHM OF THE MEETINGS. IT WILL
HAVE TO BE EXAMINED WHETHER IT WOULD BE WISE TO DISCUSS
THE MODALITIES OF WORKING GROUPS ALREADY DURING THIS PHASE.

4. BY ESTABLISHING A RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SUBJECTS REFERRED
TO IN THE VIENNA FINAL COMMUNIQUE, IT WILL BE POSSIBLE TO
APPROACH THE DISCUSSION IN VIENNA FROM A COMMON BASIS WHICH
HAS BEEN AGREED IN PRINCIPLE. THIS COULD MAKE IT EASIER
FOR US TO INTRODUCE SUBJECTS WHICH ARE OF PARTICULAR
INTEREST TO US.

5. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE AGENDA GUIDELINES GIVEN TO THEM
BY THE COUNCIL, THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE NATO COUNTRIES

SUGGESTED A DETAILED AGENDA DURING THE MULTILATERAL PREPARATORY PHASE FOR MBFR. THE VIENNA FINAL COMMUNIQUE SHOWS THAT AGREEMENT ON AN AGENDA WAS NOT ACHIEVED. IT WOULD APPEAR ADVISABLE TO REOPEN THE AGENDA DISCUSSION IN THE NEGOTIATIONS ALTHOUGH THE DRAFTING OF A SATISFACTORY FORMAL AGENDA APPEARS NEITHER POSSIBLE NOR INDISPENSABLE. HOWEVER, THE AGENDA ITEMS MENTIONED BY US COULD SERVE TO CLEAR UP TERMINOLOGICAL MISUNDERSTANDINGS AND TO OBTAIN ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ON THE EASTERN NEGOTIATING AIMS. AT THAT TIME, IT MIGHT BE POSSIBLE TO CONCRETIZE THE RIGHT TO INTRODUCE RELEVANT SUBJECTS MULTILATERALLY INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS.

6. THE INTRODUCTION OF THE COMMON CEILING CONCEPT IN THIS PHASE WOULD, ON THE ONE HAND, FOLLOW THE DISCUSSION OF FUNDAMENTAL MBFR PROBLEMS AND, ON THE OTHER HAND, PREPARE THE INTRODUCTION OF OUR NEGOTIATING PROPOSAL. THE DISCUSSION OF THE CONCEPT OF THE COMMON CEILING WOULD PROVIDE AN OPPORTUNITY TO INTRODUCE THE EXISTING GEOGRAPHICAL AND OTHER DISPARITIES INTO THE NEGOTIATIONS AND TO PREPARE A SUBSTANTIVE LINK WITH A SECOND NEGOTIATING PHASE.

7. THE DISCUSSION OF PRE-REDUCTION CONSTRAINTS COULD FOLLOW AFTER THE CLARIFICATION OF THE CONCEPT OF ASSOCIATED MEASURES. IF THE AGREEMENT OF THE WARSAW PACT TO THESE MEASURES CAN BE OBTAINED, A PARTIAL AGREEMENT SHOULD BE CONSIDERED.

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8. THE QUESTION WHETHER AN EXCHANGE OF DATA WITH THE OTHER SIDE WOULD BE POSSIBLE AND USEFUL WILL PROBABLY NOT ARISE UNTIL CONCRETE AND SUBSTANTIVE PROPOSALS HAVE BEEN MADE.

9. IT IS OBVIOUS THAT THE ACTUAL SEQUENCE OF EVENTS DURING THE INITIAL PERIOD WILL ESSENTIALLY DEPEND ON THE TACTICAL APPROACH OF THE EASTERN SIDE. IN THIS CONTEXT, THE GENERAL STATUS OF EAST-WEST RELATIONS AND THE RESULTS OF THE CSCE COULD BE IMPORTANT.

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: X
Capture Date: 02 APR 1999
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: n/a
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 20 AUG 1973
Decaption Date: 01 JAN 1960
Decaption Note:
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Authority: boyleja
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 28 MAY 2004
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1973NATO03898
Document Source: ADS
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: n/a
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: 11652 GDS
Errors: n/a
Film Number: n/a
From: NATO
Handling Restrictions: n/a
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1973/newtext/t19730868/abqcebqp.tel
Line Count: 154
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE
Office: n/a
Original Classification: SECRET
Original Handling Restrictions: n/a
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 3
Previous Channel Indicators:
Previous Classification: SECRET
Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Reference: USNATO 3874
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Authority: boyleja
Review Comment: n/a
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 14 AUG 2001
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review History: RELEASED <14-Aug-2001 by kelleyw0>; APPROVED <21-Sep-2001 by boyleja>
Review Markings:

Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
30 JUN 2005

Review Media Identifier:
Review Referrals: n/a
Review Release Date: n/a
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: MBFR: FRG'S PROPOSED STRATEGY FOR NEGOTIATIONS
TAGS: PARM
To: STATE
SECDEF
Type: TE
Markings: Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 30 JUN 2005